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TRENDS IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
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TRENDS

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S U P P L E M E N T

PROPAGANDA ON THE KOREAN WAR ANNIVERSARY

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PROPAGANDA ON THE KOREAN WAR ANNIVERSARY

Pyongyang media marked the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War with accounts of the usual Pyongyang mass rally, press articles, and publicity for foreign observance of a "month of solidarity" with North Korea, beginning with the 25 June anniversary of the war and lasting until the 27 July anniversary of the signing of the armistice. Since this year's anniversary was a decennial, Kim Il-song played a part in the festivities and attended the Pyongyang rally, as he had done on the 10th anniversary. First Vice Premier Kim Il, who addressed the rally this year, was normally the ranking official in the past when the speakers were lower-level functionaries representing trade unions, agricultural, youth, and women's organizations.*

The higher-level observance this year also included a lengthy DPRK Government memorandum outlining basic policies instead of the customary annual joint statement by public organizations. This year's commemoration in Pyongyang was also unique in that special foreign delegations attended for the first time--from the PRC, headed by PLA Chief of Staff Huang Yung-sheng, and from the DRV, South Vietnam's PRG, and the Laotian NLHX, as well as Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk who was in North Korea for a state visit.

Peking, which had ignored the anniversary for the past three years, marked it this time with voluminous and effusive propaganda, including a joint editorial in PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG, and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY--fanfare in keeping with the recent warming of Sino-Korean relations that was highlighted by Chou En-lai's 5-7 April visit to Pyongyang. This year, for the first time, Peking linked its commemoration of the Korean War anniversary to its observance of the 27 June anniversary of the U.S. "occupation" of Taiwan, apparently as part of its current propaganda focus on a united Asian struggle against "U.S. imperialism."**

* Kim Il was the ranking leader at the Pyongyang rally in 1966, 1968, and 1969; Vice Premier Kim Kwang-hyop was the top leader present in 1967.

** During the two-week period 22 June to 5 July, Peking devoted 39 percent of its total broadcast propaganda output to the combined celebration of the Korean War and Taiwan anniversaries. During a comparable two-week period in 1960, Peking's attention to the 10th anniversaries of both events totaled only 13 percent. The 15th anniversary accounted for 10 percent of Peking's total output during the relevant two-week period in 1965.

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Further testimony to the importance Pyongyang and Peking both attached to this year's anniversary was the dispatch of DPRK Foreign Minister Pak Song-chol to Peking, where he was received by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao and addressed a Peking rally along with PRC Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien.

Pyongyang, while reciprocating Peking's avowals of friendship, was careful in its treatment of the Soviets. North Korean media duly reported veiled anti-Soviet polemical remarks made by PRC spokesmen on the anniversary, but DPRK speakers avoided such remarks on their own authority and made a point of balancing their thanks for Chinese aid with expressions of gratitude for Soviet aid.

The Soviets, in contrast to the Chinese, gave the decennial the same treatment they have accorded the routine annual anniversaries, with a Moscow city rally addressed by the chairman of the USSR-DPRK Friendship Society.

PYONGYANG RESTATES BASIC POSITIONS

The broad propaganda themes on the anniversary this year as usual are those generally pressed in Pyongyang propaganda: that the United States and the ROK "puppets" are conducting "provocations" and "war preparations" against the DPRK, but that they should not forget the "lessons" of the "defeat" in the Korean War; that only the U.S. "imperialists" and ROK "puppets" stand in the way of unification; and that the United Nations has no right to interfere in the unification question. The propaganda once again reaffirms North Korea's dedication to the notion of "peaceful" unification, while at the same time praising the "active anti-U.S., national salvation struggle" of the South Korean people.

U.S. "WAR PROVOCATIONS"

The DPRK Government memorandum, like one on the 15th anniversary of the war in 1965, reviewed the history of U.S. "aggression" against Korea, now carrying it back as far as the 19th century. It brought the bill of particulars up to date and, in addition to recalling the Pueblo incident of January 1968 and the downing of the U.S. EC-121 "spy plane" in April 1969, cited the 5 June 1970 sinking of an "armed spy ship" allegedly sent into North Korean coastal waters by the U.S. "imperialist aggressors."

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In standard fashion, the memorandum charged that intensification of U.S. aggressive maneuvers has "led the situation in Korea to extreme tension in which a war may break out again at any moment." A number of the speakers, including Kim Il at the Pyongyang rally and Pak Song-chol at the rally in Peking, likened the current situation to that of June 1950 when the United States "triggered" the Korean War. This theme has been recurrent since its introduction in November 1966, following President Johnson's trip to South Korea and the step-up of incidents at the demarcation line, and has been a staple of Korean War anniversary propaganda since then.

"PEACEFUL" UNIFICATION

While accusing the United States of war preparations, the government memorandum also repeated a formulation on peaceful unification which appeared in the joint statement by public organizations on last year's anniversary.* It recalled that the DPRK has "proclaimed more than once that it has no intention of marching to the South nor will it settle the question of Korean unification by force of arms." The statement last year simply asserted, without elaboration, that Kim Il-song had said this "long ago."

The stress on "peaceful" unification which marked the 1969 anniversary contrasted with the propaganda on the anniversaries in the two previous years. The comment in 1967 was relatively militant, in the pattern that developed after the Korean Workers' Party conference of October 1966 at which the need to build up DPRK defenses was emphasized. The rally speaker and some commentators declared on the 1967 anniversary that the Korean People's Army (KPA) was ready to "annihilate the aggressors and achieve unification of the country any time it is ordered by the party and the leader." On the 1968 anniversary Pyongyang stressed the militant formulations which had come into use following the Pueblo incident and also praised the South Korean "armed guerrilla struggle"--a theme that had become prominent beginning in July 1967 when the dispatch of DPRK agents to the South was intensified.

* The only Chinese reference to the DPRK Government statement in Peking's anniversary propaganda is an expression of "firm support" for it by Chou En-lai at a banquet given by the DPRK Ambassador on the 28th. Chinese speakers as usual omitted the term "peaceful" when expressing support for the Korean people's "just struggle" for the unification of their homeland.

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The 1970 government memorandum reviewed Pyongyang's frequently repeated proposals for achieving "peaceful" unification, including conclusion of a "peace treaty" between North and South Korea and the reduction of their respective armies to 100,000, free North-South general elections, and establishment of a transitional North-South confederation. These proposals are normally recapped by Pyongyang in such official statements as the annual public organizations' statement on the Korean War anniversary and government statements on the annual UNGA discussion of the "Korean question." Kim Il-song repeated the proposals most recently in a letter to Byungcholl Koh, president of the United Front for Korean Democracy in New York, which was carried by KCNA on 3 June. Kim had sent a similar letter to Yongjun Kim, president of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, D.C., in January 1967. Kim's letters and the government memoranda on the UNGA discussions reviewed various proposals put forward in the 1950's and early 1960's.

The current memorandum also repeated the North Korean proposal that "an international conference of countries concerned be convened, if necessary, to peacefully settle the Korean question." This proposal appeared in the public organizations' statement on the anniversary last year. First broached in the mid-1950's, the proposal was resurfaced on 21 July 1966 in a DPRK Government memorandum on the UN General Assembly discussion of Korea. It was also included in the memoranda issued in connection with the UNGA debate in 1967 and 1969, although not in 1968. The omission in 1968 was probably traceable to North Korea's propaganda militancy following the Pueblo incident and the stress on the South Korean "armed guerrilla struggle" after July 1967.

SOUTH KOREAN STRUGGLE, "REVOLUTIONARY PARTY"

The government memorandum praised the South Korean people's "active anti-U.S., national salvation struggle," which it said is "gaining in scope" and "taking various forms, including armed struggle." The usual "appeal to the South Korean people," adopted at the Pyongyang rally and carried by KCNA on the 29th, called upon the people of South Korea to oust the "U.S. imperialist aggressors" and overthrow the Pak Chong-hui "clique," reminding them that they have the "powerful revolutionary base" and the "militant support and encouragement" of the northern half of the country.

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Much of the anniversary comment briefly mentioned the "vanguard" South Korean Revolutionary Party for Reunification, the establishment of which was announced by Pyongyang on 20 June.* The fact that it is a "Marxist-Leninist" party, however, is noted explicitly only in a NODUNG SINMUN anniversary article by a KPA general. There was no indication that representatives of the party participated in the anniversary ceremonies in Pyongyang. But a domestic service announcer on 26 June read a speech "on behalf" of an unnamed representative of the party, and belatedly--on 1 July--KCNA carried a "written" speech by a southern party representative.

Although there were references to "armed struggle" in this year's anniversary materials, there was nothing to match the militancy of 1968. The armed struggle theme had taken on propaganda prominence in July 1967 and was reflected in the war anniversary propaganda the following June. There were references to the buildup of the "revolutionary base" in the North to "assist" the South Korean struggle, and the propaganda spoke of "liberation" of the South Korean people by the North Korean army if the U.S. "imperialists" attacked. On the 1969 anniversary, when the stress was on "peaceful" unification, propaganda referred to the South Korean "revolutionary struggle" but not to an "armed guerrilla struggle." This phrase, however, has appeared in propaganda occasionally over the past year.

PEKING LAUDS FRIENDSHIP, COMMON INTERESTS WITH DPRK

Sino-Korean friendship was warmly praised by both sides in anniversary propaganda, but Peking was particularly effusive. PLA Chief of Staff Huang Yung-sheng, speaking at the Pyongyang rally, typified the comment when he described the two countries as closely related like "lips and teeth" and the two peoples as "comrades-in-arms and brothers standing on the same revolutionary front." He added that they have "ought" "shoulder to shoulder in the protracted struggle" against Japanese and U.S. imperialism and that their friendship is "cemented in blood." Nevertheless, Peking failed to recall that it has a treaty of friendship,

* See the 24 June FBIS TRENDS, pages 11-12.

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cooperation, and mutual assistance with the DPRK. Chinese media gave token publicity to the 11 July anniversary of the treaty signing last year, although it totally ignored the Korean War anniversary.*

DPRK Foreign Minister Pak Song-chol was warmly welcomed in Peking, where he was received by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao and addressed a Peking rally; he also visited Shanghai, and deputy head of the DPRK delegation Kim Chung-nin went to Shenyang, both being feted by revolutionary committee chairmen at rallies and banquets. (Many of China's provinces also held local rallies.) A lower-ranking Korean group had gone to Peking for the 15th anniversary, but there was no such delegation for the 10th, when the Peking rally was addressed by the DPRK ambassador.

PYONGYANG, PEKING PRAISE ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Both Pyongyang and Peking praised the "anti-imperialist united front of the revolutionary Asian people"--a theme that has become increasingly prominent in their propaganda since the overthrow of Sihanouk, and especially since Mao's 20 May statement on the Cambodian and other revolutions. Most of the anniversary speakers cited various brief passages from the Mao statement regarding the need for unity of peoples of the world against "U.S. aggression," the ability of small countries to defeat big ones, and "revolution" as the main trend today. Most of the Korean speakers quoted from Kim Il-song's speech at a 15 June banquet for the visiting Prince Sihanouk in which he called for a "united front" of "the peoples of various Asian countries making revolution, including Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, China, and Korea."

* Peking also totally ignored the anniversary of the war in 1968 and gave it only cursory acknowledgment in brief NCNA reports in 1967. Peking last observed the anniversary normally in 1966--before Sino-Korean relations began to deteriorate seriously--with a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial and a Peking rally addressed by a PRC Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee official.

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INDOCHINA REPRESENTATIVES

The Asian solidarity theme was served by the presence in Pyongyang of the delegations from the Indochinese countries as well as from the PRC. There is no known precedent for such delegations at the anniversary observance. The groups were led by Tran Huu Duc, Minister attached to the Premier's Office of the DRV; Nguyen Van Hieu, "special envoy" of the NFLSV and PRG (the media do not mention that he was formerly PRG ambassador to Cambodia); and Sanan Souththichak, NLHX Central Committee member. Cambodia was represented by Prince Sihanouk, already in the DPRK for a state visit. They all addressed the Pyongyang rally, were received by Kim Il-song and entertained at a DPRK Cabinet banquet, and in return jointly hosted a banquet for Kim Il-song.

In various speeches in Pyongyang the Indochinese delegates thanked North Korea, the PRC, "and other socialist countries" for their assistance and backing. The only direct mention of the USSR appeared in the speech by the NLHX delegate at the Pyongyang rally. En route to Pyongyang, the Indochinese delegations stopped in Peking on the 23d, traveling from there the next day in the same plane with the PRC group. All four delegations left Pyongyang together on the 28th and were entertained at a banquet in Peking by the DPRK Ambassador that evening; they left for home on the 29th.

PRC USES OCCASION TO CRITICIZE USSR; DPRK CIRCUMSPECT

Some of Peking's anniversary comment included remarks implicitly critical of the Soviet Union. Peking's joint editorial, entitled "People of Asia, Unite and Drive the U.S. Aggressors Out of Asia!", included the assertion that "there are certain persons who are collaborating with U.S. imperialism in evil doings, fraternizing with the Japanese reactionaries, and even maintaining dirty relations with Lon Nol and his like." This charge was reported by Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien at the Peking rally and by the chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Liaoning Province at the Shenyang rally for the deputy head of the DPRK delegation.

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Other Chinese spokesmen, including Chou En-lai at the banquet in honor of Pak Song-chol, leveled veiled criticism at the USSR. Chou remarked that the attitude one takes toward the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries--whether one "condemns and fights them" or "encourages and connives with them"--is the principal criterion of a "true" or "sham" revolutionary. He associated the Koreans with this view, adding that "as the Korean comrades say, it is a question of basic stand." A similar comment was made by the chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee at the Shanghai rally for Pak Song-chol. Huang Yung-sheng, at the Pyongyang rally, made a remark in the same vein but omitted the reference to the Koreans sharing this sentiment. The formulation, including the reference to the Korean view, had previously been used by Chou En-lai on 5 April when he was in Pyongyang, evidently conveying resentment at that time over Soviet dealings with Japan. Shortly before Chou's visit, the North Koreans had in fact called upon the socialist countries to maintain "an invariable stand of principle" regarding Japan in a lengthy 30 March NODONG SINMUN article recounting the evils of Japanese militarism.

PYONGYANG COVERAGE

Pyongyang duly reported the Chinese speakers' polemical remarks but avoided anti-Soviet statements on its own authority. The DPRK thanked the Chinese for sending volunteers who assisted the Koreans "with blood" during the war, but added that the people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries also gave the Koreans "support and assistance" during the war. The USSR was mentioned by name in this context in the DPRK Government statement, by Kim Il at the Pyongyang rally, and by Pak Song-chol at the Peking rally. Peking's NCNA duly reported these references in carrying the texts of the Korean items.

MOSCOW GIVES ANNIVERSARY ROUTINE TREATMENT

Moscow gave no special attention to the 20th anniversary of the Korean War, treating it--like the 15th and the 10th--much as it treats the routine annual ones. The Moscow city rally was addressed by the chairman of the USSR-DPRK Friendship Society; the speakers on the 15th and 10th

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anniversaries had been officials of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. The meeting was also addressed this year by the visiting deputy chairman of the counterpart Korean friendship society. Other features of the Moscow observance included the customary routine-level press and radio commentaries, a message from the AUCCTU to its North Korean counterpart, and a report that the DPRK Ambassador had a "meeting" with various Soviet representatives. TASS briefly reported the rally held in Pyongyang on the anniversary, but did not mention the presence of foreign delegations.

Moscow's propaganda routinely denounced U.S. "war preparations" and "provocations" in Korea and expressed support for the North Korean demand that U.S. troops withdraw from South Korea and for its program for "peaceful" unification. Unlike Peking, Moscow repeatedly expressed support for the DPRK Government memorandum and the program for unification outlined in it.

Emphasizing Soviet-Korean friendship, Moscow routinely recalled that the Soviets gave the Koreans aid during the war and in the "construction of socialism" since then. Pointing to the "successful development" of relations between the two countries' armies, a 25 June RED STAR article recalled that a Soviet military delegation led by Chief of General Staff Zakharov had visited the DPRK in April and that a DPRK military delegation led by Chief of the General Staff O Chin-u had attended the celebrations in the Soviet Union of the 9 May 25th anniversary of VE-Day.

The chairman of the USSR-DPRK Friendship Society commented in a radio talk on 25 June that the "fraternal alliance" of the two countries had been further cemented by the Soviet-DPRK treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. On at least the last two Korean War anniversaries, Moscow had mentioned the treaty in similar fashion in press comment. The anniversary of the signing of the treaty, 6 July, has been observed annually by Moscow, and the treaty has been cited in other Soviet propaganda from time to time over the years.

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RECOLLECTION OF UNITED ACTION BY DPRK, USSR, PRC

An attack on the Chinese appeared over Moscow's Radio Peace and Progress in a 27 June commentary on the anniversary in Mandarin. The broadcast recalled for Chinese listeners that the "united action of the Korean, Soviet, and Chinese peoples" had been "very effective" against the U.S. "aggression" in Korea and declared that if the Chinese leaders were now to stop their "splittist activities" and respond "to the call of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries concerning the formation of a united front" against imperialism and reaction, the struggles of the Koreans and other peoples for independence and freedom would be more effective.

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